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Tihana Petrović Leš: The intellectual circle of Milovan Gavazzi

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## THE INTELLECTUAL CIRCLE OF MILOVAN GAVAZZI: CORRESPONDENCE WITH SLOVENIAN COLLEAGUES THROUGH THE EXAMPLE OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH ANGELOS BAŠ, 1960-1973

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*This research portrays a part of the intellectual circle of Milovan Gavazzi and his correspondence with his colleagues from Slovenia. It is founded on archival research of some correspondence from the personal fund of Milovan Gavazzi held at the Croatian State Archives, used as a historical source. Special attention is paid to correspondence with Angelos Baš from 1960 to 1973.*

**Keywords:** *Milovan Gavazzi, Angelos Baš, ethnology and cultural anthropology, Croatia, Slovenia, correspondence, scientific heritage, intellectual history*

### INTRODUCTION

The connections between Croatian and Slovenian ethnology have been the subject of frequent research, observed through a conceptualisation of the area of research, institutional history, and interpersonal contact among ethnologists.<sup>1</sup> Recent research by Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik directs attention

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<sup>1</sup> A special contribution to the study of relations between the two national fields of ethnology were provided by Croatian-Slovenian ethnological parallels organised by the Croatian and Slovenian Ethnological Society from 1981 until today (with a pause between 1991 and 2004), as described by Aleksandra Muraj (2006). This issue of the journal provides more information about the centuries of contact and interrelation between the two national fields of ethnology in an inspired article by Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik entitled “The Ritual of Institution: Fragments of Contiguities between Slovenian and Croatian Ethnology”.

towards two professors, Branimir Bratanić from Zagreb and Vilko Novak from Ljubljana (Slavec Gradišnik 2012). Slavec Gradišnik portrayed the 1950s, when Slovenian and Croatian ethnology dealt in relations between general and regional/national ethnology. She affirmed that both professors followed modern ideas that were part of the conception of European ethnology at the time within the framework of the *Ethnologia Europaea* ethnological association (ibid.). In this issue of *Studia ethnologica Croatia*, we continue with the marking of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and the 80th birthday of Professor Vitomir Belaj, Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik wrote a research paper that accentuates the importance of comparative research of two scientific and research traditions, as well as the production of ethnological knowledge throughout a longer time period. In the paper I shall focus on written communication between Milovan Gavazzi and Slovenian ethnologists. The research is founded on archival research of some correspondence from the personal fund of Milovan Gavazzi held at the Croatian State Archives, which is used as a historical source, with a view to the subjective nature of such material (Stipančević 2006:115–121; Pleše 2014:38).<sup>2</sup> Correspondence is always of interest to researchers, especially historians, as a valuable source

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<sup>2</sup> The need for analysing the correspondence of Milovan Gavazzi crystallised in 2012 during a guest visit by Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik at the 3rd seminar in honour of Branimir Bratanić, as well as the 85th anniversary of the foundation of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology. On this occasion, there was a discussion about Milovan Gavazzi's extensive correspondence held at the Croatian State Archives, and it was concluded that it was necessary to research contact between the two neighbouring national fields of ethnology and cultural anthropology especially in today's age of concise correspondence, messages and e-mail (Pleše 2014), meaning that the near future may be absent of comprehensive written sources on the professional and private relationships between members of the academic community.

The discussion of the need to examine and analyse Gavazzi's correspondence with his Slovenian colleagues continued on a similar occasion nearly five years later, 8 November 2017, during preparations for an international scientific congress in honour of the 90th anniversary of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and the 80th birthday of Dr. Vitomir Belaj, entitled "Croatian and Slovenian Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology: experiences, contact, connections...". Work on the correspondence was arranged with Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik; it was decided that basic research of Milovan Gavazzi's correspondence with his Slovenian colleagues would be published first

of data and a reflection of a particular time. Interest in correspondence is apparent in Croatian ethnology and cultural anthropology in a small amount of research as a source of data and historical document in order to shed light on particular topics from the history of the field, e.g. the founding of the Board and the publishing of *Zbornik za narodni život i običaja*, the role of women in the collection of material during the constitution of ethnology as a science (Pleše 2014:35–36).

This article has been conceived as a contribution to the awareness of the history of the field and intellectual history; it shall observe eminent individuals in the scientific and educational life of two countries and two fields in the humanities, of which ethnology and cultural anthropology is a part. Attention has been turned to Milovan Gavazzi and a body of correspondence related to a part of his intellectual circle – a professional network of colleagues who played an important role in 20th-century Slovenian ethnology and cultural anthropology. These sources allow the research of various topics in intellectual history (such as conceptual influences, the transfer or exchange of ideas), society (the position of the intellectual elite), and the field (the issue of cognitive/methodological changes or institution building). Here, attention is redirected from the biography of prominent individuals to their intellectual positions, influences, connections, and interpersonal influence (Janković 2013:15). This paper contributes to the broadening and deepening of knowledge on the scientific heritage of both countries.

The following chapters shall discuss Milovan Gavazzi and the significance of his fund, especially correspondence, and shall focus on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of part of this correspondence with colleagues from Slovenia. As there are a great deal of letters and answers from particular correspondents, after a quantitative and qualitative analysis, correspondence between Milovan Gavazzi and Angelos Baš was chosen as a kind of case study.

## THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MILOVAN GAVAZZI

Creator of the fund, Milovan Gavazzi (Gospić, 18 Mar 1895 – Zagreb, 20 Jan 1992), graduated with degrees in philosophy and Slavic studies in Zagreb and Prague. He received his doctorate in musicology in 1919 (Bezić 1999:53–68). He was the curator of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb from 1922 to 1927, also serving as director from 1939 to 1941. He was a professor at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences' Ethnology Department from 1927 to 1965. After retiring, he held lectures and continued working intensely in the field. He was the founder of science-based ethnological research, designed an ethnology study programme, and encouraged the recording of ethnological films and maps. He researched Croatian traditional culture in the South Slavic and Slavic context, as well as within the context of the nations of Europe. He focused especially on research of proto-Slavic ethnographic heritage. He followed the relevant literature in a dozen languages, as witnessed by both his correspondence and his personal library (Stipančević 2005; Katunar 2006). He was a member of numerous societies in both Croatia and abroad, the *Alpes Orientales* and *Ethnographia Pannonica* working groups, and a corresponding member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Gavazzi received a Herder Award from the University of Vienna in 1970 as an eminent researcher promoting cultural relationships between Central and Eastern European countries, as well as contributing to the protection of European cultural heritage in accordance with the peaceful accord among nations. In 1988, he was awarded a by the Twelfth Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Societies with a special plaque as a world ethnographer (Belaj 1992:203–204).

Gavazzi's written letters (postcards) and correspondence with colleagues from Slovenia is kept as a part of the correspondence in the personal fund of Milovan Gavazzi (HR-HDA-1029-7) at the Croatian State Archives (Stipančević 2006:115–121). An overview of the content and significance of the correspondence has been provided by archivist, historian, and ethnologist Mario Stipančević, with the note that Gavazzi's is one of the most extensive collections of correspondence held at the Croatian State Archives (Stipančević 2005:55–68). Milovan Gavazzi corresponded with an imposing 1,358 correspondents, and 11,900 letters and answers

are stored in the archive. According to Stipančević, the correspondence is “fairly complete”, as it contains the letter and the concept of the answer. It contains even the added copy of the answer. The letters are typewritten, and answers, comments, or drafts of replies are often handwritten. In addition to his native Croatian, Gavazzi corresponded in German, English, French, Italian, Czech, Slovak, and Russian. The correspondence encompasses a period of roughly seventy years, from 1921 until his death in 1992 (*ibid.*:59).

### **GAVAZZI'S SLOVENIAN CORRESPONDENTS**

In addition to ethnologists, the correspondents from Slovenia include Slavic studies scholars, historians, linguists, and ethnologists. More recent research on collaboration between ethnologists and historians revealed a connection between Gavazzi and Slovenian and Croatian historian Ljudmil Hauptmann involving management issues at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, as well as revealing that they followed each other's scientific work (Petrović and Leček 2018).<sup>3</sup> The text will not discuss born Slovenians who worked and lived in Croatia, e.g. historian and musician Janko *Barlè*, a friend of Gavazzi's, as witnessed by their letters (Stipančević 2005:60). The text will also portray Gavazzi's correspondence with institutions, and then with individuals – first with his female colleagues, and then with his male colleagues – before finally portraying his correspondence with Baš in detail.

#### **Communication with institutions in Slovenia**

The analysis showed that correspondence exists with six institutions in Slovenia: Ljudska univerza in Maribor, Ljudsko vseučilište in Celje,

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<sup>3</sup> Ljudmil Hauptmann (Graz, 1884 – Zagreb, 1968). Studied in Graz (1902); professor of Mediaeval history at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb (1926–47). Served as dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences during the 1930/31 academic year, 1942/43 summer semester, and 1943/44 winter semester. Correspondence has survived regarding Hauptmann's resignation as dean. HR-HDA-1029-7, 449 (Hauptman, Ljudmil). Hauptmann's letter bears witness to the fact that historians also followed ethnological research. In this letter, he expresses regret at not being able to come to a Balkan studies conference in Munich and at not hearing Gavazzi's lecture on Croatian (home) cooperatives (see Petrović Leš and Leček 2018).

the Ethnographic Museum, the Faculty of Arts, the Slovenian Ethnology Institute, and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. It is likely that some communication took place through the Faculty, as the correspondence contains a surprisingly small number of transcripts. It can be assumed that the majority of official correspondence unfolded via the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and is thus archived there. Gavazzi corresponded with two institutions – Ljudska univerza in Maribor and Ljudsko vseučilište in Celje – in the 1930s. Ljudska univerza in Maribor invited Gavazzi to hold a lecture “on the cultures and lives of polar peoples”. The lecture was held with slides presented via a projector in early March of 1933, after which Gavazzi immediately thanked those present for his “few pleasant hours” in Maribor (HR-HDA-1029-7, 753/81). Ljudsko vseučilište in Celje asked him to hold the same successful, interesting lecture (HR-HDA-1029-7, 754/81).

His correspondence with the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana encompasses two letters dated 29 June 1950 and 15 November 1955. They concern organisational work for *Slovenski etnograf* journal such as exchanges and fees for reviewers; the editorship also ordered a text on Swiss ethnology and discussed photographs of items for an exhibition in Paris (HR-HDA-1029-7, 290/70).

The Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana contacted Gavazzi in only three surviving letters and answers (16 Nov 1965 - 3 May 1968) discussing Gavazzi’s employment contract and Angelos Baš being named assistant professor. Gavazzi excused himself due to his other obligations and the short advance notice given of one month, he would not be able to write an evaluation. The dean of the Faculty informed him that he accepted his reasons, and that Dr. Bogo Grafenauer and Dr. Svetozar Ilešič would sit on the commission in his place (HR-HDA-1029-7, 320/72).

Special celebrations were always held for Milovan Gavazzi’s birthdays. A telegram from the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology on his 80th birthday has survived, as has Gavazzi’s answer that he was looking forward to their successful future cooperation (HR-HDA-1029-7, 528/77). The Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts sent Gavazzi four letters from 1955 to 1957. This is an unpersonalized greeting card for the new year without a date signed by Janez Milčinski, and the announcements related to

the promotion of Milko Matičetov as a doctor. Gavazzi wrote on the back of his response to Matičetov's incapability of personal achievement, but to congratulate him and wish for further successful work under a deserved title (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1182/91, 9 December 1955). In two letters followed by Gavazzi's request to send him three copies of the book *Antona Melika Kozolec in Slovensk* (1931) (from the Academic Stocks to the home address) (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1182/91, 11 July 1957). ). The last letter from Milko Matičetov, thanks to the sent (unnamed) resume, gives him information about his colleagues (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1182/91, 9. 4. 1963).

It has been confirmed that correspondence with twenty three individuals has survived, of whom five are women and eighteen are men. Gavazzi wrote his correspondence in Croatian, while his colleagues wrote in a linguistic mixture of Croatian and Serbian, with a small number also writing in Slovenian.

### **Female correspondents from Slovenia**

At the outset of Gavazzi's scientific and academic career, the ethnological scientific community was small, and the number of women in academic circles was even smaller. An increase in the number of women in the academic community is visible in the second half of the 20th century (Potkonjak 2013). This is also supported by historical data on ethnological institutions, the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology in Zagreb, and the Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology Department in Ljubljana, as well as the ethnographic museums in both states (Belaj 1998; Slavec Gradišnik 2000). The ethnological institutes in both countries were founded only after World War II – in Zagreb in 1948 (Marks and Lozica 1998) and in Ljubljana in 1951 (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:224).

Gavazzi corresponded with Linda Sadnik-Aitzmüller (1910-1998), a Slavic studies scholar of Slovenian origin who worked at the Slavic Philology Seminar at the University of Graz in Austria. They exchanged two two-page letters, on the back of which Gavazzi wrote his answers. The reason why Linda Sadnik-Aitzmüller wrote Gavazzi the first letter (in the Croatian language) was the publishing of her book on Southern European riddles; she sent him a copy as thanks for his criticisms of her manuscript. Gavazzi immediately answered in German to thank her for the letter and



book, emphasising the importance of the subject. He also took the chance to ask his colleague to greet Professor Joseph Matl, Hanns Koren, and Leopold Kretzenbacher, which bears witness to his broad circle of colleagues in Austria (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1119/90; 19 Feb 1953). The following surviving letter is from 1975, in which Sadnik-Aitzmüller invites him to cooperate in an anthology dedicated to Dr. Joseph Matl, which Gavazzi had to turn down due to his other obligations (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1119/90; 15 Jan 1975).

Gavazzi's written communication with philologist and ethnomusicologist Zmaga Kumer (1924-2008), who worked at the Slovenian Academy of Arts and Sciences' Ethnomusicology Institute and the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:323; Ramšak 2004a:270), spanned a period of roughly ten years. They exchanged nine letters, as well as Gavazzi's five draft answers from 1968 to 1977. At this time, Zmaga Kumer was employed as the secretary of the Slovenian Ethnographic Society, and so the correspondence concerned the organisation of Gavazzi's lecture on his impressions from a yearly film festival founded in 1959 in Florence under the name "Festival dei popoli". Gavazzi sought three films from the French Institute in Zagreb (unfortunately the titles were not listed) from the festival, which he intended to show as an illustration alongside his lecture in Ljubljana (HR-HDA-1029-7, 687; 26 Feb 1966). The second part of the correspondence is dedicated to work on an outline for a handbook of European musical instruments, which Zmaga Kumer coordinated with twelve Yugoslav musicologists, including Gavazzi. They co-authored an entry on idiophonic instruments and on the use of leaves to play (whistle) (HR-HDA-1029-7, 687/80.; 23 Feb and 19 Aug 1967)

Two female ethnologists employed at the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum communicated with Gavazzi. One of them was Marija Makarovič (1930), an expert in Slovenian folk dress and farming (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:481–482; Ramšak 2004b:306). Only one letter has survived, in which Gavazzi co-organised a visit to Ljubljana from "Mrs. Byhan from Malbeck", asking to deliver a letter from him to her and to provide assistance to her (HR-HDA-1029-7, 767/82; 24 Apr 1965). The second female correspondent was curator Pavla Štrukelj (1921-2015) who dealt in non-European cultures and the Roma people in Slovenia (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:400–401; Ramšak 2004c:617). Within less than a year between 1973 and 1974, they



communicated quite intensely, with eleven letters sent to Gavazzi's home address and his two draft answers. During this period, Pavla Štrukelj, who was employed at the Slovenian branch of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia in Ljubljana, coordinated editing work on *Etnološki pregled* journal (vol. 12), which underwent the editing process from February to late October of 1974. As editor-in-chief, Gavazzi edited texts, commented on the number of photographs and pictures, and warned of printing prices and the number of offprints for authors (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1272/92)

The ethnologist Helena Ložar-Podlogar (1942), an Associate of Institute for Slovenian Folk Literature, a researcher of customs and a successor to Nike Kuret (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:499-500; Ramšak and Ravnik 2004: 299-300), is represented in Gavazzi's correspondence with nine letters (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:499–500). They each exchanged nine letters across a period of nearly ten years, from 1968 to 1977. Gavazzi's communication with Ložar-Podlogar was more intimate and less formal, perhaps because her uncle was well-known archaeologist and ethnologist Rajko Ložar, director of the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. Gavazzi and Ložar wrote each other during the war, from 1942 to 1945, when Ložar had to leave Slovenia for political reasons (Slavec Gradišnik and Ložar-Podlogar 2005). As a young colleague, Ložar-Podlogar took on the role of middleman in communication between Niko Kuret, Vilko Novak from the Ethnology Department of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, and Milovan Gavazzi, as well as undertaking some organisational work. It is apparent that Gavazzi followed the development of his much younger colleague, whom he especially valued as is apparent in how he addressed her: "Esteemed colleague", "Esteemed Ms Alenka!". He was also equally familiar with inter-institutional and interpersonal relations in Ljubljana. The fact that their relationship went beyond professional cooperation is witnessed by their exchange of personal opinions on the state of the field. Gavazzi attempted to allay his younger colleague's fears and dissatisfaction, answering that not only these are "professional maneuvers" but "the quite stupid, stubborn, intolerant, and short-sighted cutting of the branch we all sit on..." He thus advised her: "we've nothing else to do but be patient!" (HR-HDA-1029-7, 741/8; 11 Jun 1977). Ložar-Podlogar wrote most of her letters by hand. In one letter, she even expresses her admiration for the extent of Gavazzi's work in the field: "I didn't know you were carrying 'all

of Yugoslavia' on your shoulders" (HR-HDA-1029-7, 741/8; 7 Jun 1977). Her farewell phrases at the end of her letters are not merely formal, instead displaying a closer relationship, especially as she also sends greetings to Gavazzi's wife in each letter. She complained to him that she was the only person from Yugoslavia travelling to Moscow for a conference of *Demos* (HR-HDA-1029-7, 741/81; 17 May 1976). Ložar-Podlogar would be of especial help to Gavazzi in finding good photographs of the "belokranjski turn" (Circle dance from Bela Krajina), which he needed to accompany a text on the "kolo na kolu" (Circle dance in which the dancers are standing on ground circle dancers' shoulders) for a memorial in honour of Bulgarian ethnologist Khristo Vakarelski. Satisfied with the quality of the photographs, Gavazzi ended his letter with a heartfelt greeting in Slovenian... "pa ostajem sa 'prav lepa hvala'" (HR-HDA-1029-7, 741/81; 8 and 20 May 1976).

### **GAVAZZI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH ETHNOLOGISTS**

Gavazzi corresponded with eighteen of his ethnologist colleagues. This correspondence can be portrayed according to two formal criteria – the length of the correspondence period and the quantity of letters exchanged.

Milovan Gavazzi began communicating with four colleagues in the Interbellum. He communicated with eminent philologist, ethnographer, and Slavic studies scholar Matija Murko (1861-1952) from 1926 until 1948, exchanging a total of 62 letters (HR-HDA-1029-7, 867/84). He communicated with ethnologist and politician Niko Županič only during 1930, receiving three letters (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1356/92). He began to write frequently to Slavic studies scholar Vilko Novak (1909-2003) in 1935, with a total of 478 letters surviving (HR-HDA-1029-7, 916/85). The correspondence ended when Gavazzi fell ill and later died in early 1992 (Belaj 1992:203–204). He began exchanging letters frequently with Boris Orel in 1939; their correspondence would last 23 years, until Orel's death in 1962. Orel sent him 194 letters (HR-HDA-1029-7, 936/86).

He communicated intensively with Rajko Ložar during World War II (HR-HDA-1029-7, 742/82). Gavazzi communicated with literary historian and ethnologist Ivan Grafenauer (1880-1964) from 1942 to 1960, exchanging 20 letters (HR-HDA-1029-7, 398/74).

Correspondence with some colleagues began quickly after the end of World War II, and with two in particular in 1947. This was the case with Niko Kuret, who sent him 269 letters between 1947 and 1981 (HR-HDA-1029-7, 693/82). From 1947 to 1960, Franc Kotnik sent him 44 letters (HR-HDA-1029-7, 654/72).

He began writing to five colleagues in the 1950s, such as anthropologist Božo Škerlj (1904-1961), with whom he exchanged seven letters between 9 April 1954 and 6 December 1960 (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1263/92). The subject of their correspondence was comprehensive research of the island of Susak. Škerlj asked Gavazzi for help collecting literature, and asked him to get involved in the research. In his reply, Gavazzi recommended Italian sources, older geographical literature, and recommended “Miss Jelka Ribarić” as a collaborator on the project, a young ethnologist with knowledge of the ethnology of Istria, the Croatian Littoral, and the islands of the northern Adriatic (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1263/92; 9 Apr 1954). The following important theme in their communication was the 1966 selection of Božo Škerlj as the Yugoslav member of the “*conseil permanent*” national committee at the 6th International Congress in Paris. Gavazzi informed Škerlj that Niko Županič and Aleksandar Gahs were members of this same committee in 1934. In the following letter, Škerlj informed Gavazzi that he had also received an official notice that he had been appointed a member of the organizing committee of the congress. He suggests to Gavazzi to give a joint proposal on the appointment of Županič and Gahs to honorary members of the congressional or congressional committee board because they are not active and instead propose two younger members of ethnologists under 40 years of age (HR-HDA-1029-7, 1263/92 6 December 1960). Gavazzi, with colleagues who were not ethnologists, exchanged only one letter, such as with the historian Milko Kos, dated April 12, 1956 (HR-HDA-1029-7, 646/79). Only one letter and answer from 1970 bears witness to Gavazzi’s scant communication with Božo Račić (1887-1980), a great organiser, busi-nessman, promoter of domestic crafts, and former director of the State Central Institute for Female Domestic Crafts in Ljubljana (Ramšak and Slavec Gradišnik 2004:486). Only one letter from ethnol-ogist Slavko Kremenšek has survived (HR-HDA-1029-7, 669/79).

It is interesting to note that, in some cases, Gavazzi corresponded with fathers, and later with their sons, e.g. with Bogo and Ivan Grafenauer, as well as with father and son from the Murko family. Matija Murko (1861–1951), philologist, literary historian, ethnographer, Slavic studies scholar, Germanist, and editor (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:126–127; Slavec Gradišnik and Ramšak 2004:342–343), corresponded with Gavazzi from 7 May 1926 to 20 November 1948, sending him 62 letters across 63 pages. Two answers from Milovan Gavazzi have also survived (HR-HDA-1029-7, 867/84). His son, Vladimir Murko (1906–1986), lawyer and science historian, corresponded with Gavazzi for slightly less than ten years between 30 July 1953 and 30 November 1962; 79 letters and two answers from Gavazzi have survived (HR-HDA-1029-7, 868/84).

This brief overview portrays the research potential of correspondence for quantitative and qualitative communications analysis (rhythm, intensity, trends, topics...). The need for further qualitative research becomes even clearer from the selected example that follows.

## **CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MILOVAN GAVAZZI AND ANGELOS BAŠ**

For this research, correspondence with one correspondent was analysed in detail – Angelos Baš. His selection was coincidental. Baš is the first correspondent alphabetically; the quantity of letters they exchanged is moderately comprehensive, meaning it could be analysed within an acceptable time period. Their correspondence includes 68 letters across 71 pages, and 11 of Gavazzi's draft answers (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66). Prior to analysing the correspondence, a few biographical notes about Angelos Baš are needed.

Angelos Baš (Tabor, 24 August 1926 - Ljubljana, 25 August 2008) graduated from the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in 1951, and he received his doctorate in 1959 with a dissertation entitled *Noša na slovenskem v poznem srednjem veku in 16. stoletju*. From 1950 to 1963, he served as curator of the City Museum of Ljubljana, after which he was curator of the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum. Starting in 1979, he was employed by the Slovenian Ethnology Institute at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 1969, he was named assistant professor at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana,

then associate professor in 1978, and finally full professor in 1984. He dealt in historical ethnology using archival sources. He also stayed in Tübingen and München as a Humboldt scholar (1968–70, 1982, 1987, and 1992). He was interested in material culture, mostly in folk dress. He published roughly 300 articles and books (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:283–286; Ramšak 2004d:24–25; Godina Golija 2013).

## **CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN BAŠ AND GAVAZZI**

Correspondence between Gavazzi's and Baš lasted thirteen years, from 1960 to 1973, during their collaboration while working with the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia. Baš's letters to Gavazzi have survived, as has Gavazzi's draft answers or copies of typewritten answers. In addition to letters, they also sent postcards. In this correspondence relationship, the individuals were both writers and readers. The situation was made especially interesting as Gavazzi either wrote his answers on the back of letters he received or attached a copy of his typewritten answer to them (Pleše 2014:49). The sending and receipt dates make it apparent that letters travelled between Ljubljana and Zagreb quickly, in no more than a day or two. In emergency cases, telephone communication was arranged in parallel with written communication.

The most common greeting and farewell phrases of Baš's are "Respected Comrade Professor!" and "Yours truly, Angelos Baš", respectively. Gavazzi addresses his younger colleague with "Dear Doctor!" and signs off with "With respectful greetings". They began writing when Baš was 34 and had just been employed in the field at the Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, while Gavazzi was 65 years old, had an enviable scientific career and enjoyed international renown.

## **WHAT DID BAŠ AND GAVAZZI WRITE ABOUT?**

The thematic content of letters can be divided into two groups: a) professional and personal questions, and b) issues related to the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia, founded in 1958, and their membership in its managing board and the editorship of *Etnološki pregled* journal (Novak 1958:212–214). From 1959 to 1978, Gavazzi was editor-in-chief of *Etnološki pregled* journal (Židov 2004:123).

## PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

Angelos Baš frequently informed Gavazzi of his family situation, problems with advancing in the field, and stipends; he also discussed and asked for assistance and opinions in writing his research.

Some of the correspondence relates to Gavazzi's opinion regarding Baš's article on 16th-century Slovenian folk dress for print in *Etnološki pregled*.<sup>4</sup> Baš asked Gavazzi as main proof-reader and editor-in-chief to give his opinion after Miljenko Filipović rated the article "good and useful"; he also asked for linguistic advice. Gavazzi's answer came only in late October; he apologised for being busy as he was preparing for a trip to Berlin, as is apparent on the back of Baš's letter (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 23 Aug 1960).

In July of 1961, Baš sent a letter in which he asked Gavazzi's opinion on the written concept of his lecture he had held in Čačak, as Filipović had recommended the text be printed and offered to collaborate. They discussed the issue of dividing and defining cultures, as well as a possible title for Baš's work. He could not decide between "On the historiographic character of ethnology" or "On issues in historical ethnology" (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 11 Jul 1961).<sup>5</sup> However, Gavazzi did not return the manuscript for a while due to obligations at the Faculty and his editorship of *Etnološki pregled*. Baš finally answered Gavazzi's letter in July of 1962 with reactions to his comments. Baš advocated that ethnology should encompass all social classes and classes within his research, and Gavazzi sends a comprehensive comment on his allegations in his response, and calls him to interact with each other (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 7 and 20 July 1962).

Baš would also regularly inform Gavazzi about his holidays, private problems, the health of his father Franjo (who had a heart attack in the spring of 1963 and was resting in the Ljubljana neighbourhood of Zapuže), and finally about his employment in the field (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 26 Jul 1963). It is also apparent from Baš's letters that Gavazzi also spent his holidays in Zapuže during these years (HR-HDA-1029-7; 26 Jul 1963).

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<sup>4</sup> Published under the title: Baš, A. 1960. "Staleški okviri u nošnji 16. stoleća kod Slovenaca". *Etnološki pregled*, vol. 2:41–62.

<sup>5</sup> Published under the title: Baš, A. 1963. "O istorijskom karakteru etnologije". *Etnološki pregled*, vol. 5:5–22.



He writes about leaving for a three-month stipend at the Herder Institute in Marburg, Germany in late 1962 / early 1963 (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 7 Nov 1962), where he was to go again in the spring of 1964. Immediately upon arriving in Marburg, Baš sent Gavazzi a postcard, which was co-signed by Ingeborg Weber (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 21 Apr 1964).<sup>6</sup> Upon his return to Ljubljana, he immediately wrote Gavazzi with a detailed description of his stay, which he used to gather comparative material to add to his dissertation; he had taken the opportunity to visit Dr. Hans Moser in München and then-Assistant Professor Ingeborg Weber-Kellerman and Professor Gerhard Heilfurth in Marburg. During his visit, he invited them to collaborate in a meeting in Pohorje, and asked Gavazzi advice on how to invite them, either “through the secretariat (which I personally consider a great risk), or perhaps you yourself could send them two invitations to Marburg” (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 9 May 1964).

### **THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF YUGOSLAVIA AND *ETNOLOŠKI PREGLED***

An important topic in correspondence between Baš and Gavazzi involved numerous issues related to their work with the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia.<sup>7</sup> In 1961, a meeting of the management board of the

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<sup>6</sup> Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann (Berlin, 26 Jun 1918 – Marburg, 12 Jun 1993). A German ethnologist who worked as a university professor in Marburg (1968-85). She dealt in the development of ethnology as the empirical scientific study of society, focusing especially on the relationships between German ethnology, German studies, and sociology. She studied traditional forms of family, Christmas traditions, the lives of women and villagers in the 19th century, children and childhood, children’s songs, inter-ethnic relations, etc. She also took autobiographical notes ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ingeborg\\_Weber-Kellermann](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ingeborg_Weber-Kellermann); accessed August 26, 2018). In the inter-war period, she undertook field research on Germans in Croatia, especially the village of Josipovac, for her dissertation. Her dissertation was published in 1942. See: Ritig-Beljak 1998.

<sup>7</sup> *Etnološko društvo Jugoslavije*, founded in Belgrade in 1957. The Croatian Ethnological Society (Hrvatsko etnološko društvo) was founded 31 Jan 1959 as the first republican branch of the society. The Society organised congresses known as ‘consultations’, which were held each time in a different republic. It also organised communal projects, the largest of which was the *Ethnological Atlas of Yugoslavia (Etnološki atlas Jugoslavije)*. The last congress was organised by the Croatian Ethnological Society in Zadar in 1989. See: Novak 1958.



Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia was supposed to be held in Zagreb, and Baš and Orel were supposed to attend. During their discussion of the date of the meeting, Baš informed Gavazzi that Orel had extended his holiday on the island of Rab, after which he planned to leave for field research with “the entire staff of his museum” (HR-HDA-1029-7; 20 and 24 Jul 1961). However, in mid-August, Baš informed Gavazzi that “director Dr. Orel” had been released from the hospital, and that he had visited him and informed him of the conclusions of the management board meeting. One of the basic issues they observed was the problem of the management board and problems in organising congresses, called *consultations*, in various parts and cities of former Yugoslavia (Čulinović-Konstantinović 1963; Rajković-Orepić 1970).

The important issue of organising a consultation in the Pohorje Mountains in Slovenia in 1964 was a regular topic in their correspondence. There were multiple financial and organisational problems with this event. Gavazzi was unsure whether to invite Moser and Weber, which Baš had been insisting on for some time. In the same letter, Gavazzi underlined the Society’s difficult financial situation with information he had received from the organisation’s treasurer that the Society was in “critical” financial trouble (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 12 May 1964).

New problems then arose for Baš involving the organisation of the congress in Pohorje. The issue arose of whether to postpone the consultation due to “invitees’ preoccupation with preparing for a congress in Moscow” and the lack of funds to organise it; this resulted in only Slovenian ethnologists registering for the congress. Visibly worried, Baš wrote Gavazzi the following: “We have taken a series of measures with the government here and we have been well received and achieved good results. How can we cancel it all now? Why didn’t anyone think of that earlier?” (HR-HDA-1029-7; 9 Mar 1964). Baš also thought about including students into the work of the consultation. Gavazzi answered his worried younger colleague in late September: “As concerns the unfortunate news about the postponement of the consultation (none of which has reached my ears as of yet), I have also written to Beograd in astonishment” (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 25 Sep 1964).

Finally, after apparent tensions, a lack of funds, and organisational issues, the 7th consultation of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia

was held in the Pohorje Mountains from 6 to 10 October 1964, however without the involvement of the foreign guests Baš had invited. In a report on this event, young Croatian ethnologist Josip Milićević noted that a large number of young ethnologists had participated in the event, and that they had discussed employment opportunities, small salaries, and their lack of permanent housing. They also discussed methodological issues and opened some new topics for discussion, such as the need to research worker folklore and present ethnological material in museums (Milićević 1965:237–238).

As concerns the editorship of the *Etnološki pregled* journal, problems appeared involving the preparation of particular issues: organisational issues, difficulties in pre-print work, printing errors, a lack of funds.<sup>8</sup> In 1968, they discussed problems of the editorship of *Etnološki pregled* as the managing board of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia had concluded the “situation was worrisome”. Gavazzi was prevented from involvement due to work obligations, director of the Novi Sad Museum of Vojvodina Dr. Rajko Nikolić was in a car accident, and Dr. Miljenko Filipović, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, died suddenly. Gavazzi took on the task of finishing the editing of the journal with the editorship secretary so that it could be published before a consultation in Zenica (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 19 Dec 1968).

In addition to collecting papers, they discussed various other papers, such as reviews, e.g. about how Baš had spoken with Professor Novak about Gavazzi providing a summary of Dr. Milko Matičetov’s dissertation for *Etnološki pregled*, as well as the issue of who could write obituaries (e.g. he suggested Professor Novak write Dr. Orel’s obituary) (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 28 Nov 1962).

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<sup>8</sup> *Etnološki pregled* (1959–90), the main yearly ethnological review of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia and the organ of the Union of Ethnological Societies of Yugoslavia, which was published in Belgrade. The journal published works by the most eminent Yugoslavian ethnologists, both to introduce and connect experts in Yugoslavia and to familiarise international members of the field with modern theory and methodologies. After 1988, *Etnološki pregled* was published exclusively in English. Milovan Gavazzi was editor from 1959–1978. See: Židov 2004:123.

## MESSAGES IN BETWEEN THE LINES

The general political situation is apparent in two notes about Baš's attendance of military exercises, which disturbed his plans to cooperate in the congress: "If I don't go to the military exercises, as the situation looks in Slovenia, I will come to the consultation in Čačak, where I expect your criticism of the paper I have sent you" (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 23 Aug 1960). This is also apparent in the preparation of papers: "Having come back last night from military exercises (where I have been since the 15th of the month), I found your postcard at home..." He committed to staying in Ljubljana through August to work on papers for upcoming scholarly events in Vršac (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 31 Jul 1967).

However, some problems appeared that point to deeper political problems in the state, which also affected relationships within the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia, as is apparent in letters from 1968 and 1972.

In 1968, Gavazzi wrote Baš of forceful attempts to publish a paper about open-air museums by Dušan Drljača in *Etnološki pregled* that had been rated poorly as a dissertation.<sup>9</sup> It turned out that the Socialist Republic of Serbia's Republican Fund for the Promotion of Cultural Activities had allocated considerable funds to publish this paper as a special issue of *Etnološki pregled*, and he writes: "It pains me that dedicated funds have been obtained for this purpose, while there is still nothing for *Etnološki pregled* – the decision is constantly being delayed..." (HR-HDA-1029-7; 22 Feb 1968). When the paper reached the editorship, Filipović and Gavazzi were named reviewers, and after a thorough review, they gave the paper a negative review "due to significant deficiencies, incompleteness, and

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<sup>9</sup> Drljača, D. 1980. "Problemi i perspektive stvaranja etno-parkova u Srbiji". *Etnološke sveske*, vol. 2:40–43. Dušan Drljača, ethnologist, scientific adviser, worked as curator of the National Museum in Sarajevo. In 1960, he moved to the Ethnographic Institute, where he ran the sub-project "Serbs outside of Serbia – in diaspora and national minorities in Serbia". In addition to migrations, he dealt in migrations of population, problems of endangered settlements, ethnic groups, and national minorities (Poles, Jews, Italians, Rusyns, etc.), ethnological films, ethno-parks, and other issues. He has been a full professor at the University of Banja Luka since 1994. He published the book *Kolonizacija i život Poljaka u jugoslovenskim zemljama* (Vlahović [s. a.], "Prof. dr Dušan Drljača").

incorrect information” (HR-HDA-1029-7; 25 Mar 1968). In his answer to Gavazzi, Baš expresses worry that this negative review could influence monetary support for the journal due to the influence of Drljača and “some of his people” (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 27 Mar 1968).

In 1969, ethnologists from Slovenia did not take part in the consultation in Zenica, perhaps as resistance against state centralism at the time and Slovenia’s position in the federation, which began with the “road affair”<sup>10</sup> This was apparently a form of quiet resistance, which Gavazzi – then president of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia – detected, writing Baš: “... I believe careful thought should be given to the absence (which was complete, with the exception of Vitomir Belaj from Ptuj) of Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia members from Slovenia at the consultation in Zenica” (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 19 Dec 1969).<sup>11</sup>

The 1970s saw political tensions in Yugoslavia, especially because of the “Croatian Spring” movement and the question of national self-determination. Angelos Baš returned the comments, and he commented on a title that contained the concept of the “Yugoslav”, as it reflected the “Greater-Serbian perception” of the concept (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 3 Apr 1972). Gavazzi quickly answered, saying that he agreed with his “interpretations and objections”, although he maintained that they must not change the title under which the presentation was held, especially because the author could say he was referring to “citizens of Yugoslavia”. He recommended instead that they place a note alongside the title in order to protect themselves from potential complaints (HR-HDA-1029-7, 65/66; 6 Apr 1972).<sup>12</sup> The answer shows Gavazzi’s experience in political balance

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<sup>10</sup> *Cestna afera*, [https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cestna\\_afera](https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cestna_afera) (accessed August 26, 2018).

<sup>11</sup> According to the photo album of the consultation in Zenica, which includes not only photographs but a programme of the congress and all other events, it is apparent that Slovenian ethnologists did not participate. The photo album was given as a gift to Milovan Gavazzi, president of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia, by Fikret Ibrahimpašić, the director and the organiser of the Zenica Town Museum. The photo album of the 11th consultation of Yugoslavian ethnologists, 1–4 Oct 1969 in Zenica, archive of the Croatian Ethnological Society. For more on the conference programme, see Rajković-Orepić 1970.

<sup>12</sup> This is an article of mr. cc. Radomir Rakić from Belgrade entitled “The Body of Orthodox Yugoslavs as Social-Structural Form” held in the XII. Ethnologist Counseling

at a time when reactions to declarations of national identity had become repressive in both Croatia and elsewhere.

## CONCLUSION

This research has provided a quantitative and qualitative analysis of some of the correspondence between Milovan Gavazzi and his colleagues from Slovenia. It has been shown that Gavazzi's intellectual circle encompassed a number of eminent Slovenian male and female ethnologists from different generations between 1926 and 1991. Due to the large scope of archival material, attention was focused only on the analysis and contextualisation of professional and private communication between Milovan Gavazzi and Angelos Baš from 1960 to 1973. This correspondence was subjected to research as a historical document and an aid in shedding light on activities and controversies during a period in the development of the discipline after World War II. It was a time when Croatia and Slovenia were "two neighbouring and friendly republics" within the framework of the first Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia, followed by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after 1963.

The correspondence shows the relationships between the older and younger colleagues, members of the academic community from the same field. This relationship displayed a certain amount of distance, as is to be expected, however it was also full of mutual respect. The younger of the two, Angelos Baš, frequently discussed private issues (illness, death, moving, travel) and events in the field (his own promotions and those of his colleagues, congresses, events) to his older colleague, who was also an acquaintance of his father. They discussed theoretical issues, as well as new subjects and approaches to professional problems and advances in the field that begun to

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of Yugoslavia and the VIII. regular assembly in Ulcinj, from 18 to 21 October 1971 (the programme of these events, HR-HDA-1029-7, 6.2.3.1.1.1, box 32). The text is published almost under the same title: Rakić, Radomir D. 1972. "Kumstvo u pravoslavnih Jugoslovena kaosocijalno-strukturni oblik". *Emološki pregled*, vol. 10:105–115. *Ethnological Review*, Vol. 10, pp. 105-115, with the remark: "The appendix is, as a reference, for understandable reasons, in a shortened form. It is thus omitted to move away from the first part of the work on the historical continuity of humanity and on the socio-cultural structure and ideological superstructure."

take place at the time, especially in Slovenia (Slavec Gradišnik 2000:283–286). The fact that both correspondents travelled outside of Yugoslavia for congresses speaks to the openness of the former state, as well as to the opening of the field to the broader European and international context. Collaboration between Gavazzi and Baš developed on two levels: within the framework of the managing board of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia and the publishing board of *Etnološki pregled* journal, of which Gavazzi was editor-in-chief from 1959 to 1978. The role of the politics of the time on scientific work is apparent, as is the strategy of the two colleagues in maintaining their level of scientific integrity and appropriate professional relations. The letters show economic issues and the tense political situation of the 1960s, especially the political situation in the world and the former Yugoslavia in 1968 (Radelić 2006:329–378). From 1968/69 to 1972, political movements also took place within the field, e.g. resistance against the system, national movements, language and identity issues, economic problems, and even repressive reactions from communist leadership (ibid.:379–433), which reflected on ethnology – especially in Croatia and Slovenia – within the framework of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia, as well as the publishing work of *Etnološki pregled* journal. Gavazzi's restraint and caution is apparent in his actions and comments, which is no surprise considering his prior experience of living and working in the sciences in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Independent State of Croatia. According to some divisions and definition of the concept of the intellectual, Gavazzi can be defined as Gramsci's "traditional intellectual", as an earlier text affirm that he provided passive resistance to the leading ideology as an intellectual in the interwar period, thus keeping his position independent in continuity regardless of social changes (Janković 2013:26; Leček and Petrović Leš 2011).

Parts of Gavazzi's correspondence that could not be analysed here due to their size await further portrayal and analysis, including correspondence with Niko Kuret, Milko Matičetov, Matija and Vladimir Murko, Boris Orel, and especially with Vilko Novak. This research provides a contribution and encouragement to research of the history of Croatian and Slovenian ethnology in the second half of the 20th century, the position of national ethnology and individuals, especially Milovan Gavazzi, all which has then not sufficiently been the subject of focused and detailed research, within the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia from its founding in 1957 until 1991.





*Figure 1: Members of the Croatian Ethnological Society at the Consultation of the Ethnological Society of Yugoslavia, Pohorje, 1964. First row, left to right (sitting): Paula Gabrić, Zdenka Lechner, Aleksandra Muraj, Olgica Lastrić, Ivanka Bakrač. Second row in the middle: Branimir Bratanić. Last on the right: Ilda Vidović Begonja, Nada Gjetvaj. Other individuals and photographer unknown. (Archive of the Croatian Ethnological Society)*

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